

The Uses of the Holocaust in Japanese Conservative Internet Media

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Past scholarship on the Holocaust has shown that various groups throughout the world have attempted to emulate Jewish Holocaust awareness campaigning in their own activist campaigns aimed at bringing attention to other historical events. Such studies have almost exclusively focused on groups representing the victims of atrocities. However, there has been little academic study on the use of the Holocaust in campaigns to deny alleged historical atrocities. This paper explores how the Holocaust is used by members of Japan's conservative right in their efforts to deny Chinese and Korean claims of historical victimization. It will also address the possible misconception that widespread anti-Semitism and Holocaust denial exist among the Japanese conservative right. This misconception seemed evident in early 2014, when foreign media outlets ran stories suggesting that acts of anti-Jewish vandalism at Tokyo libraries were linked to the conservative supporters of Prime Minister Shinzo Abe.

To analyze the views and uses of the Holocaust among the Japanese conservative right, this paper examined programs created by Nihon Bunka Channel Sakura, a conservative internet broadcaster with links to Prime Minister Shinzo Abe's political base. The response from Nihon Bunka Channel Sakura to that incident, as well as its other programs that mentioned the Holocaust, depicted the Holocaust as a historical fact, celebrated Japanese heroes who protected Jews, denied the existence of anti-Semitism in Japan, and argued that Japanese are victims of foreign "lies" and "propaganda." The truth of the Holocaust was contrasted with what conservatives saw as false or exaggerated accounts of atrocities committed by Japan during World War II. This demonstrates that historical events with seemingly little relation to Japan can be employed as a tool to reinforce views of the historical justness of one's country and encourage the belief in victimhood at the hands of one's ideological opponents.

I. Introduction

In February 2014, the issue anti-Semitism in Japan gained attention when it came to light that copies of Anne Frank's diary and other books related to the Holocaust were being vandalized at public libraries throughout the Tokyo area. As reports of vandalism spread across Tokyo and the number over books damaged surpassed 300, it became a major news story both inside and outside of Japan. Foreign journalists, such as William Pesek of Bloomberg and Kirk Spitzer of Time Magazine, wrote articles speculating that the vandalism was the work of "conservative or rightist elements" within Japanese society (Pesek 2014). Jeff Kingston of Temple University stated that he believed it was probably occurred because "Japan is in the throes of a culture war led by right-wing reactionaries who feel emboldened under Prime Minister [Shinzo] Abe" (Spitzer 2014). At the time, there was no direct evidence that the vandalism was linked to supporters of Prime Minister Abe, but international media coverage nonethe-

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less mentioned Abe's politics, including his controversial 2013 visit to the Yasukuni Shrine. Abe, on his part, visited the Anne Frank House museum while on a trip to Amsterdam in March 2014, expressing his view that the acts of vandalism were "regrettable" (Sterling 2014).

Ultimately, the incidents came to an end a few months later when police arrested a 36-year-old Japanese man. Although the man was believed to have carried out the acts of vandalism, prosecutors decided to release him without charges after a psychological evaluation determined that he was mentally incompetent (Agence France-Presse 2014). Few details were released about the man, but there were no indications that his acts were politically motivated or that he had any links to right-wing groups in Japan. The incident appears to have had no connection to Prime Minister Abe or the Japanese conservative right.¹

The initial reaction by many international observers—which speculated about a link between the history politics of Prime Minister Abe and the acts of vandalism—represented a significant misconception regarding the place of the Holocaust in Japanese conservative discourse. Rather than encouraging anti-Semitic attitudes and Holocaust denial, media produced by Abe's political base encouraged recognition of the Holocaust as a historical fact, and actually contrasts it with what they consider historical fabrications, such as Chinese claims about the 1937 "Nanking Massacre" or Korean claims about the Japanese military forcing women into sexual slavery through the "comfort women" system. These uses of the Holocaust do not encourage hatred of Jewish people, but are instead used to demonize "anti-Japanese" groups that are ideologically opposed to the historical views of Japan's conservative right.

II. Previous Literature on Invoking the Holocaust

The Jewish Holocaust, the genocide of European Jews that took between 1933 and 1945, has had a great influence over how the world remembers history. Among the many great tragic events in human history, the Holocaust has gained a special position, becoming internationally seen to provide what MacDonald describes as "a universalized standard of good and evil, designed to highlight the roles of victims, perpetrators, and bystanders." Thus, invoking the Holocaust and imagery associated with it have become "a means for substate actors to draw attention to their historical or current predicaments" (MacDonald 2008, 2). In the years since World War II, the Holocaust has been invoked to draw attention to many different events involving non-Jewish groups, including Croatian, Serbian, and Muslim victims of atrocities in the Balkans (MacDonald 2002), Africans brought to the West Indies as slaves

¹ In this article, terms such as "conservative" and "right" generally refer to what Kazuhiko Togo has defined as the "Assertive Conservative Right" — a segment of Japanese society that has made a political cause out of promoting a positive view of Japan's pre-1945 history (Togo 2010). In discussing the views of the Japanese conservative right, this article will not delve into the merits of their claims. This is not an article on the history of Japanese Imperialism, but rather an article that discusses how certain views of history are utilized for political/social purposes. Therefore, this article will not partake in debates over the factuality of claims about the history of East Asia. Readers who are seeking a rebuttal to conservative claims about Imperial Japan's treatment of Jews may wish to consult Takesato Watanabe's research on the topic (Watanabe 1999).

(Zierler 2004), people killed in the Rwandan genocide of 1994 (Lemarchand 2002), and the indigenous populations of the Americas (MacDonald 2007).

Holocaust imagery has also been invoked in remembrance efforts involving the Chinese and Korean victims of Japanese imperialism. Perhaps the best-known example of this is Iris Chang's 1997 bestselling book, "The Rape of Nanking: The Forgotten Holocaust of World War II," which was used by Chinese diaspora groups seeking public attention to atrocities committed by the Imperial Japanese military. When drawing parallels to the Holocaust, these groups have pointed to the existence of Japanese who deny their claims, comparing them to the Holocaust deniers who exist in the West (MacDonald 2005). Activists seeking to spread awareness of Japan's occupation of Korea, and the issue of Korean "comfort women" have also drawn parallels to the Holocaust in their campaigns (Kang 1995).

There has been considerable academic study of the above-mentioned phenomenon, which involves the use Holocaust imagery to bring attention to the victimization of non-Jewish groups. In carrying out activism to bring attention to such historical events, these groups engage in a form of identity politics that seeks "respect, not as members of a universal human community or as individuals, but as members of groups that have traditionally been marginalized and stigmatized" (MacDonald 2008, 10–11). A socially shared representation of history among members of a certain group helps them to position their identity in relation to other groups and influence their stances towards current events (Liu and Hilton 2005). In the case of Chinese and Korean groups, efforts at promoting remembrance of past victimization at the hands of Imperial Japan places them in direct political conflict with the conservative right in Japan, which seeks to promote a positive historical view of Japanese imperialism.

Japan's conservative right uses the Holocaust in a way that is notably different from the methods used by other victim advocacy groups. Rather than seeking to bring attention to genocide and atrocities, the Japanese conservative right seeks to discredit claims that their nation was guilty of such conduct.

Anti-Semitism is a common feature in many right-wing nationalist movements in the West. Some, such as Gamble and Watanabe have argued that a similar situation exists in Japan:

Fear and dislike of the outsider, or "other," has roots many centuries old in Japan. Even its more recent incarnation, epitomized in the Japanese conception of the Jew, goes back at least a century and a half. Moreover, throughout its modern history, Japanese xenophobia has been manipulated to galvanize national unity. In the Second World War, for example, it dominated the popular consciousness. Even though the Japanese militarists did not join their Nazi allies in implementing the "Final Solution" to annihilate the Jews, they certainly embraced and espoused anti-Semitic rhetoric in order to unify the nation's hatred against its "Anglo-American-Jewish enemy."... This is the very same anti-Semitism that resurfaced so conspicuously in the last decades of the twentieth century, as part of a resurgence of Japanese nationalism (Gamble and Watanabe 2004, 508).

As evidence of this, they claim there has been a lack of condemnation towards Japanese publishing companies and weekly magazines that have printed “anti-Semitic” content, such as articles describing worldwide Jewish financial conspiracies and Holocaust denial.

The most well-known example of Holocaust denial in the Japanese media took place in 1995, when *Marco Polo*, a weekly magazine with a circulation of over 200,000, published an article that denied the systematic gassing of Jews and claimed that Hitler did not intent to exterminate the Jewish people. Within weeks of its publication, a campaign by international Jewish groups caused major advertisers to abandon the magazine, and international and domestic press condemned the article. Bungei Shunju, the publisher of *Marco Polo*, reacted with an apology and shut down the magazine (Kowner 2012, 186–189). Japanese media coverage of the incident caused a growing awareness of the Holocaust in Japan, increased sympathy for the Jewish people, and stood as a “warning to producers of anti-Semitic material that their activities were being monitored and would no longer be tolerated” (Kowner 2001, 269–270).

Japan does not have European-style laws restricting freedom of speech about the Holocaust, so it is legal for authors and publishing companies to print Holocaust denial literature. There are some smaller publishing companies that do print such books, but they are by no means popular.

In contrast, Anne Frank’s diary has been very popular among Japanese readers since it was first published in Japan in 1952. According to Goodman and Miyazawa, Japanese readers consume the book in a way that is compatible with views that the Japanese people were themselves victims of World War II. They can “identify with a nonthreatening, forgiving victim of a conflict they had reformulated as a sort of natural disaster, and to get on with the task of reconstruction” (Miyazawa and Goodman 2000, 172). Rabbi Abraham Cooper of the Simon Wiesenthal Center has argued that the book is popular because “like Jewish people, the Japanese love children and this is a story of a child in a terrible situation, through no fault of her own.” Cooper has pointed out that the diary is often presented to Japanese schoolchildren alongside the story of wartime Japanese diplomat Chiune Sugihara, who issued thousands of lifesaving transit visas to Jews fleeing the Nazi advance on Lithuania (Ryall 2015). Sugihara is celebrated as the “Japanese Schindler” for his role in saving Jews from the Holocaust.

In the following sections of this paper, I argue that that Japan’s conservative right has embraced a positive view of Jews and does not support Holocaust denial. Mainstream Japanese society’s admiration of Anne Frank and Chiune Sugihara was reflected in media produced by the conservative right. If presented in a manner that separates Japan’s actions in World War II from those of Nazi Germany and emphasizes Japanese sympathy to the Jewish victims of the Holocaust, the stories of Frank and Sugihara do not contradict the ideological position of Japan’s conservative right. Thus, both have been invoked to help further Japanese nationalism and a positive view of Japanese history.

III. Nihon Bunka Channel Sakura: Internet Media for Shinzo Abe’s Political Base

This article carries out a qualitative analysis of content produced by Nihon Bunka Channel Sakura

(“Japanese Culture Channel Sakura” —henceforth referred to as “Channel Sakura”), an internet broadcaster founded in 2004. Its contributors and supporters include many notable conservative figures who have played a role in the public debates over history that have occurred in Japan in the 1990’s: Hideaki Kase (chairman of the Society for the Dissemination of Historical Fact and board member of Nippon Kaigi), Yoshiko Matsuura (head of the Tokyo branch of Nippon Kaigi), Takuma Yamamoto (President of Kaikosha and Vice Chairman of Nippon Kaigi), Shiro Takahashi (co-founder of the Japanese Society for History Textbook Reform), Takanori Irie (board member of Nippon Kaigi and member of the Japanese Society for History Textbook Reform), Shiro Odamura (president of the Friends of Lee Teng-Hui Association in Japan and vice-president of Nippon Kaigi), Hidemichi Tanaka (former president of the Japanese Society for History Textbook Reform), Kanji Nishio (founder of the Japanese Society for History Textbook Reform), and Toshiaki Matsumura (Executive Director of Nippon Kaigi).² Channel Sakura has close ties to Nippon Kaigi (Japan Conference), a major conservative organization that is widely considered a key part of Prime Minister Shinzo Abe’s “political base” (Sieg 2014; Gordon 2015).

Channel Sakura’s website (<http://www.ch-sakura.jp/>) describes itself as a history and culture network aiming to “preserve and promote Japanese traditions” while informing Japanese viewers of the “truth” that mainstream media outlets supposedly do not report. Satoru Mizushima, the founder and president of Channel Sakura, refers to his organization as “grassroots media” (*soumou media*), free from the influence of business, political, religious, or foreign groups (日本文化チャンネル桜 2009). Mizushima has been described in English language media as a “rightist” and as a member of Japan’s “extreme right” (Morrison 2007; Rapold 2008).

Many of Channel Sakura’s programs concern Japanese history, particularly the history of Japanese imperialism and the Second World War. As noted in Channel Sakura’s description of itself, programs generally portray historical events in a manner that challenges the view presented in most of Japan’s traditional media outlets. Channel Sakura’s message matches the ideology of what Togo has referred to as Japan’s “assertive conservative right,” a “group of politicians and intellectuals whose political capital is based on justifying and honoring prewar Japan” (Togo 2010).

On YouTube.com, Channel Sakura uploads and distributes video programs under the account name SakuraSoTV. As of August 2014, Channel Sakura had uploaded over 13,000 videos to its YouTube page, all of which could be viewed for free. The total number of video views was about 164 million. This means that Channel Sakura videos received an average of about 12,500 views per video.

The information used in this article was gathered as part of a larger research project, which involved regular viewing of Channel Sakura’s programs between August of 2010 and August of 2014.³ Videos in that time period which touched on the topic of Jews or the Holocaust were viewed and analyzed. Because European history does not have major significance in the history-related campaigning of Japan’s

² A longer list of names can be found on the Channel Sakura website (<http://www.ch-sakura.jp/about.html>).

³ Other research in the project includes an examination of the role of conservative internet media in Okinawan historical activism (Hall 2013).

conservative right and there were few major Japanese news events in this period related to the Holocaust, there were not many video programs relating to these topics. Thus, nearly of the video programs analyzed in this article were created and uploaded around the time of two events that took place in 2014: an American Holocaust museum's hosting of an exhibition about Korean "comfort women," and the Anne Frank diary vandalism incident. The videos in question were uploaded to YouTube.com, a website that allows viewers to post comments under the videos, so viewer comments were also analyzed, allowing for an understanding of how some viewers reacted to the programs.

IV. How Channel Sakura Invoked the Holocaust

Before examining Channel Sakura's uses of the Holocaust, it should be noted that some of its programs have expressed ideas that resemble conspiracy theories about Jews having control over the global economy. For example, in calling for resistance to a globalist world order that is under the control of powerful international financial organizations, Channel Sakura president Satoru Mizushima made reference to the many Jews at the center of such organizations (日本文化チャンネル桜 2013a).

However, Channel Sakura programs treat the Holocaust as a real historical event that cannot be denied and downplay the idea that anti-Semitism exists in Japan. Examples from the Holocaust have been used to differentiate wartime Japan from Nazi Germany, to celebrate Japanese heroes, and to portray Japan as the victim of anti-Japanese propaganda and racism.

The truth of the Holocaust is often contrasted with the perceived lies and propaganda of "anti-Japanese" forces. This is evident in Channel Sakura commentary videos by newscaster Miki Otaka. In the first, from March 2012, she questions Chinese claims about the Nanking Massacre by likening it to popular perceptions about a tendency for China to make cheap copies of better things that exist in other countries. She tells a story about visiting the Nanking Massacre Museum in China and realizing that it was a "crude imitation" (*pakuri*) of Israel's Holocaust Museum. She says China makes imitations of everything: "just as it copied a Doraemon theme park and copied Japan's bullet train, its Nanking Massacre Museum is an imitation" (*doraemon no yuenchi kara, shinkansen kara ne...nankin daigyaku-satsu kinenkan made desu ne...pakutte bakari no chuugoku*). The massacre itself is argued to be a "fiction" used as a diplomatic "card"—a form of diplomacy that crudely imitates Israel's use of an actual historical tragedy. She calls on viewers to fight for "truth" by opposing Chinese historical views (日本文化チャンネル桜 2013b).

When the Museum of Jewish Heritage, a Holocaust museum in New York, decided to host an exhibit about the "comfort women" issue in 2013, Otaka once again contrasted the true event of the Holocaust with the untrue version of history that Korean and Chinese lobbies are spreading in America. In the video, she recalls her own experience visiting Auschwitz and viewing the actual evidence of the Nazi genocide against the Jews, and argues that Koreans and Chinese lack similarly compelling evidence (日本文化チャンネル桜 2013c).

Channel Sakura has also made use of the Holocaust in stories that depict pre-1945 Japan as a friend

to the Jewish people and an opponent to racism. The story of Chiune Sugihara's saving the lives of Jewish refugees in Lithuania has been introduced on several occasions. In a 2010 program, Kanagawa University Professor Kazunobu Oyama shared his experience of visiting Lithuania, a "pro-Japanese country" (*shin-nichi no kuni*) where Sugihara is honored as a hero (日本文化チャンネル桜 2014a). In another program a book about Sugihara and other Japanese who had contributed to international society is recommended as helpful for Japanese people who are planning to travel abroad and speak with foreigners (日本文化チャンネル桜 2014a).

In addition to Sugihara, Channel Sakura has also introduced several wartime Imperial Japanese Army officers: Kiichiro Higuchi, Norihiro Yasue, and Koreshige Inuzuka, as heroic figures who rescued Jews from the Holocaust (Braham 1983, 82-84; 日本文化チャンネル桜 2010b). This fits with Channel Sakura's overall view of history, in which many Japanese soldiers were not acting as criminals during World War II.

In March 2014, Miki Otaka lamented the current situation, in which Korean and Chinese "lies" about Japan's wartime conduct are treated as an "Asian Holocaust." Viewers were introduced to the notion that Japan was actually at the forefront of trying to prevent something like the Holocaust from occurring. She claimed that if the Great Power's had accepted Japan's Racial Equality Proposal at the 1919 Paris Peace Conference, the Holocaust could have been prevented. Instead, Japan's plan for recognition of racial and national equality was rejected. A chance to stand against racism was lost, and a few decades later, Jewish people and Gypsies were sent to gas chambers because of racism in Europe. Otaka expressed her desire that the Jewish people who have been cooperating with Korean and Chinese interest groups should learn that Japan has historically tried to protect Jews from persecution (日本文化チャンネル桜 2014b).

In 2014, former Israeli Ambassador to Japan Eli-Eliyahu Cohen appeared on Channel Sakura for an interview with Miki Otaka. Cohen introduced the Japanese addition of a book he wrote about a Zionist war hero, comparing his desire to fight and die for his country to that of the Japanese samurai (日本文化チャンネル桜 2014c). In a second interview with Cohen, Otaka asked him for his view on Koreans who call Japan's wartime conduct an "Asian Holocaust." Cohen said that Koreans were being "wrong" and "shameful" because the Holocaust stands alone in history as a uniquely terrible event, so it is improper to compare anything to it. While claiming that he didn't know enough about the issue to comment on the historical details of Japan's wartime conduct, he criticized the Jewish Heritage Museum's hosting of a "comfort women" exhibit because it makes the museum a place for "many people to blame each other" (日本文化チャンネル桜 2014d). His statements, while not showing open agreement for Channel Sakura's view of Japanese history, were nonetheless presented in a context that gives support to their world view.

Channel Sakura has also used Holocaust stories to reinforce a sense of Japanese victimization. In one program, uploaded in March 2014, newscaster Kuniko Suzuki introduced books by German authors Gudrun Pausewang and Hans Peter Richter. The books tell stories of the everyday lives of Jewish

children prior and during the Holocaust, helping Japanese readers understand that Jews in Europe faced gradually increasing amounts of discrimination and racism, eventually resulting in genocide. The purpose of the mentioning these stories, however, is to highlight what Channel Sakura sees as racism against Japanese people. The video description stated that by learning about Jewish people suffering under racism in Europe, Japanese could draw parallels to how Koreans are spreading anti-Japanese racism in America through the “propaganda” about “comfort women.” It is implied that Japanese people living in America are facing the same kind of hatred that Jewish people suffered in pre-Holocaust Europe. Through campaigns seeking to convince people that the treatment of “comfort women” was comparable to the Holocaust and that the Japanese flag is similar to the Nazi German flag, Koreans are said to be spreading racism. Viewers are told that the two German books can be used by Japanese who want to respond to Korean statements that compare Japanese actions to the Holocaust (日本文化チャンネル桜 2014e).

Thus, one can observe a common theme in Channel Sakura’s use of Holocaust imagery. It seeks to discredit the victim identity that Koreans and Chinese are claiming, and reverse it. The historical narratives of Korean and Chinese victimhood are presented as lies, and the Japanese people are depicted as victims of those lies.

Such a theme was also present when news broke of the 2014 vandalism incidents at Tokyo libraries. Channel Sakura’s initial response was to blame these crimes on the foreign enemies of Japan’s conservative right: Korean and Chinese nationalists. In a February 28 program, Satoru Mizushima argued that the issue was unrelated to the right or left in Japanese politics. Japanese people, regardless of their political affiliation, were said to feel sympathy for the sad story of Anne Frank and recognize the “historical truth” (*rekishiteki na shinjitsu*) of the Holocaust. The vandalism was linked to Chinese and Korean efforts to label Japan as the same as Nazis (日本文化チャンネル桜 2014f). Similarly, Miki Otaka stated in her weekly commentary program that she could not believe it could be the work of a Japanese person. She suggested that it was probably linked to Korean groups’ recent efforts to depict the “comfort women” issue as an “Asian Holocaust.” Viewers were warned to be aware of efforts to use the Holocaust as “propaganda” in an “information war” that sought to unfairly depict Japan as a criminal nation (日本文化チャンネル桜 2014g).

As noted earlier in this paper, when a Japanese suspect was arrested, reports indicated that the vandalism had been caused by mental instability rather than political or racist ideology. In a Channel Sakura video on the topic, Mizushima expressed doubt about such reports. The acts of vandalism seemed to fit within his view of the world—not as the acts of a Japanese rightist, but as part of an international “campaign” by Chinese and Koreans to smear Japan as a racist country. To Mizushima, it was the only way that it made sense (*sou shika kangaerarenai*) (日本文化チャンネル桜 2014h).

Viewer comments on the above-mentioned videos indicated considerable agreement with Channel Sakura’s efforts to use the Holocaust to create a sense of Japan being a just country that does not engage in anti-Semitism. For example, in response to the March 3rd video about the Anne Frank Diary

vandalism, user “MrHinemosunotaribito” wrote:

“There are no Japanese people who hate Israel or Sugihara. And could we do something so terrible to Anne Frank’s Diary? It’s not possible. This is the kind of book that we want our children and grandchildren to read. I pray that they quickly catch the criminal. And that it isn’t a Japanese” (日本文化チャンネル桜 2014f).

In response the March 13 video on the same topic, user “hiro-hnl zsmā” wrote:

“Vandalizing property doesn’t match with the character of Japanese people. If we have a problem with Israel, we’d send a protest letter to the embassy” (日本文化チャンネル桜 2014h).

A few comments on the two videos bring up the fact that the Jewish Heritage Museum in America had cooperated with Koreans to host an “anti-Japanese” exhibit about “comfort women.” However, the comments nonetheless place the blame for the vandalism on Koreans, refusing to believe that there is such anti-Semitism in Japan.

V. Conclusion

Various organizations and individuals around the world have invoked the Holocaust as a means of bringing attention to historical atrocities committed against non-Jewish groups. This includes activists, particularly Koreans and Chinese, who have referred to Imperial Japan’s wartime conduct as an “Asian Holocaust.” Japan’s conservative right disagrees with these accusations, and has sought to promote a positive image of pre-1945 Japan.

Video programs produced between 2010 and 2014 by Channel Sakura, an internet broadcaster linked to major organizations within Japan’s conservative right, were analyzed to determine their uses of the Holocaust and Holocaust imagery. In contrast to international media reports that have suggested anti-Semitic views among Prime Minister Shinzo Abe’s supporters in the movement to encourage a nationalistic view of Japanese history, Channel Sakura’s video programs on the Holocaust encouraged recognition of the Holocaust as a historical fact. Channel Sakura invoked the Holocaust to celebrate Japanese who were credited with saving Jews during World War II and to paint Japan as a victim of “lies” that sought to compare Imperial Japan’s wartime conduct as something similar to the Holocaust.

In the case of the 2014 vandalism of Anne Frank’s diaries at Tokyo libraries, Channel Sakura’s programs suggested that the crimes could have not have been committed by a Japanese person. Noting the widespread admiration of Anne Frank in Japan, Channel Sakura newscasters denied the existence of anti-Semitism among Japanese people and argued that such acts must be the work of a foreigner. Linking the event to the existing historical disputes with Korea and China, suggestions were made that it could have been a Korean or Chinese person who wanted to make Japan look like a racist country that

sought to deny historical reality.

In each of these examples, the victimhood claims by countries that were occupied by Imperial Japan were reversed, with Japan and the Japanese being portrayed as the actual victims, rather than perpetrators. Unlike groups that have invoked the Holocaust to bring attention to historical atrocities or genocide, Japan's conservative right are denying allegations that such atrocities took place. Thus, the Holocaust, as an internationally recognized event, has become a tool that Japan's conservative right uses to promote pride in Japan, to promote anger towards those that accuse Japan of historical wrongdoing, and to create a sense of victimhood among Japanese. This represents notable phenomenon in how the Holocaust has been invoked and used in the years since 1945.

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